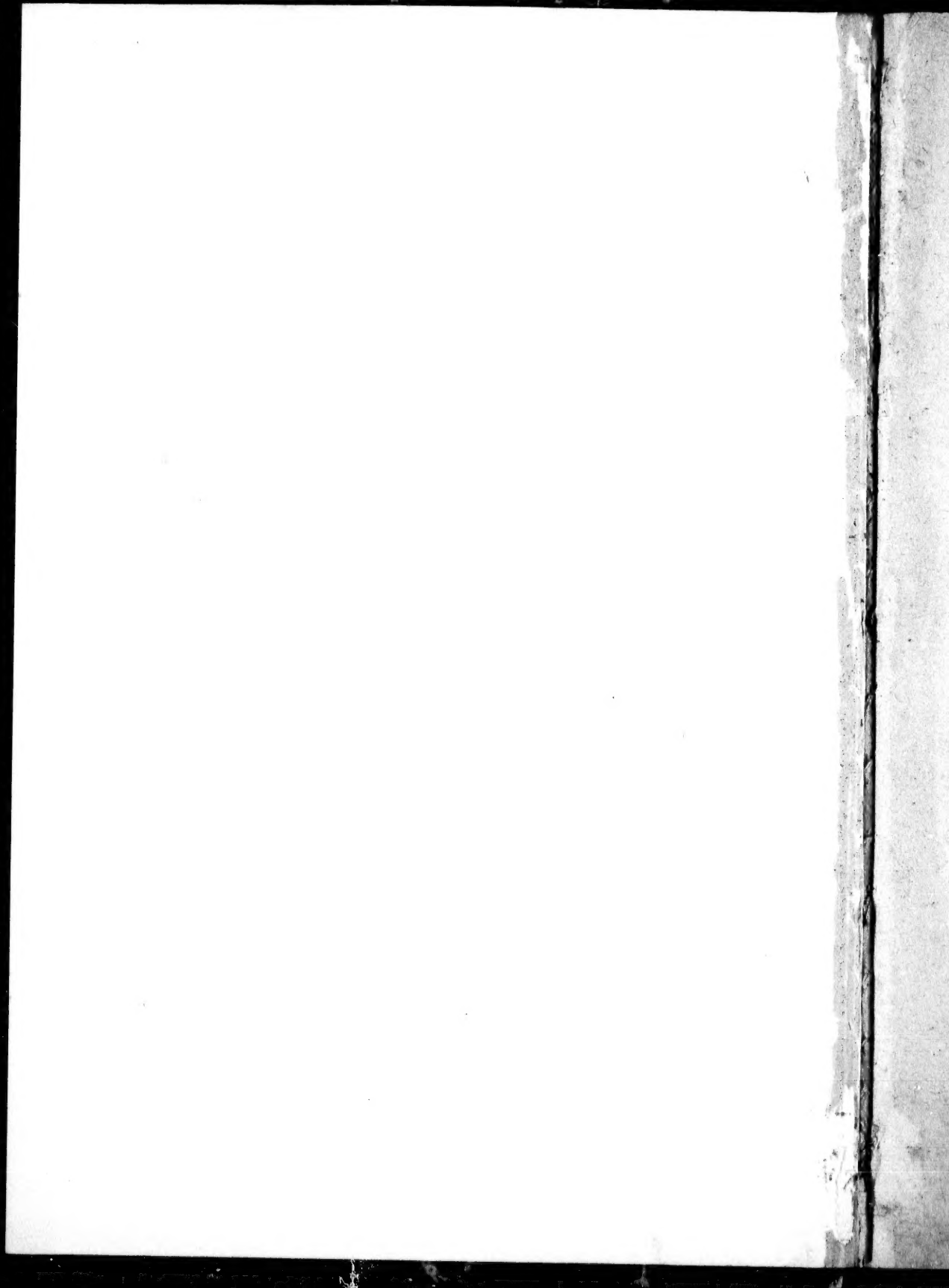




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THE LESSONS OF HISTORY.

SPEECH BY MR. J. J. CURRAN, M.P.

Delivered in the House of Commons, Wednesday, March 21st, 1888.

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THE LESSONS OF HISTORY.

SPEECH BY MR. J. J. CURRAN, M.P.

Delivered in the House of Commons, Wednesday, March 21st, 1888.

How Unrestricted Reciprocity Destroyed Ireland's Prosperity.

A WARNING TO CANADA.

Ireland Abandoning Protection Becomes a Slaughter Market for England—The Case Parallel to Our Own—Why Goldwin Smith Supports Commercial Union—Mr. Curran's Great Speech in the Commons.

The following is a *verbatim* report of the speech delivered by Mr. J. J. Curran, member for Montreal Centre in the House of Commons, on Wednesday last, on the resolution of Sir Richard Cartwright in favor of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States:—

Mr. Speaker, I trust that hon. gentlemen will consider the apology I owe them for intruding upon them at this late period of the debate as having been expressed, and I shall at once proceed to discharge the duty that now devolves upon me, in the first place, by alluding briefly to the speech delivered by the hon. member for North Victoria (Mr. Barron) before the house adjourned last night, and then dealing with the question in a general way as briefly as the importance of this debate will allow. Yesterday, this house had the pleasure of listening to a speech from my hon. friend the member for Westmoreland (Mr. Wood), which, for pith and point and power, has seldom been equalled in the halls of the Dominion Parliament of Canada (applause), and the hon. gentleman who followed him, and

whom I am now following, I think, by the speech which he delivered last night, made the most ample confession that the address of my hon. friend from Westmoreland was absolutely unanswerable, and that the arguments he adduced could not be met by him in any way whatsoever. From the beginning to the end of the speech delivered by my hon. friend from North Victoria, he carefully avoided any single argument adduced by my hon. friend from Westmoreland. He made no attempt to refute his speech, and he did not even mention the hon. gentleman's name from the beginning to the end of the address which he delivered. (Applause). On the other hand, the hon. gentleman told us that it was not his intention to address the house upon the question in a general way, that he was going to confine himself not merely to a provincial view, but was going to confine himself in a very great measure to the view, as I understood it, which would concern his own constituency. Now, I consider that, in discussing a question of this kind, any such line is entirely at variance with the interests of the country at large, is entirely unworthy of the position occupied by a representative of the people in this house, and should be looked upon by the people of this country as utterly untenable when the question before the house has for its object, as has been stated by the mover of this resolution, a complete economic revolution. But the hon. gentleman made some statements that, to my mind, and the minds of those who surrounded him, must have appeared simply astounding. He told us that the National Policy was a policy for the benefit of the few to the detriment of the majority; and to prove that the farmers were oppressed by it, he said that the number of farmers in Ontario, according to his computation, was 1,144,520. Now that is a marvellous figure,

one which I think it will be difficult for the hon. gentleman to justify by statistics; because after all, it is not merely in the Province of Quebec that the farming community like to sing

"Vive la Canadienne, et ses jolis yeux doux."

The fact is that the farmers of Ontario have a weakness for the fair sex also; they are not all bachelors, and if we make a computation of five to a family, according to his statement it would give 5,722,600 persons as belonging to the farming community in Ontario, or more than the whole population of the Dominion of Canada. (Cheers.) The hon. gentleman also told us that the trade of Ontario and the Dominion, in horned cattle, would be vastly benefited by unrestricted reciprocity. He did not tell us, however, what the effect would be to-day under unrestricted reciprocity; he did not tell us that while United States cattle are scheduled in the British market Canadian cattle are not kept in quarantine, nor slaughtered, which they would certainly be if we had unrestricted reciprocity; but he led this house and the country to suppose that he, who was speaking, as he said, not for the country at large, but simply for one agricultural constituency, was not aware of the important and vital interest at which he was striking, a vital interest to every cattle raiser in the vast province from which he comes. He told us that experience was good for something, and I agree with him there, and before I resume my seat, Mr. Speaker, I shall endeavor

TO ESTABLISH WHAT EXPERIENCE TEACHES

in connection with this question, not with reference to the constituency that I represent only, nor with reference to the constituency that the hon. gentleman represents, but how this scheme will affect the people of the Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and I believe that the experience I shall bring to bear on this subject will be satisfactory to the overwhelming majority of the Canadian people. We have also had allusion made, in the course of this debate, to the terrible state of things in this country at the present time, by the senior member for Halifax (Mr. Jones), and that hon. gentleman's sympathies went out so far, almost, as to cause him to shed tears over my native city of Montreal. He quoted from the speech of Mr. Drummond, at the Board of Trade the other day, concerning the assumption by the Government of the Lake St. Peter debt. He

did not tell us what was the occasion of the speech, but he sought to make it appear to the people of this Dominion, not that the sections of the country which are supplied from Montreal as a great distributing centre, would be improved by the assumption of that debt, but that by unrestricted reciprocity the great end which those people are now clamoring for, would be attained. He did not tell us that he was one of the members who stood up in the House only last session and denounced the idea that the Government should assume the debt of Lake St. Peter. He did not, for one moment, refer to figures to show that inter-provincial trade has done a great deal for the St. Lawrence route, and he never gave us the comforting assurance that he was bound during the present session, as a patriot, to relieve the suffering city of Montreal, and to change his attitude from that which he occupied during the last session of this Parliament. (Cheers.) We have had the same story repeated over and over again with reference to the want of statistics, we have had statements made that the country was going back, was going to the dogs, that the children were not attending school, that the country was far from being in a prosperous condition. I do not intend at this moment to enter, at any length, into the discussion of that branch of the question; it has been already amply dealt with. I shall merely give some statistics from the Roman Catholic institutions of Lower Canada, since these are considered of such immense value by hon. gentlemen opposite. I have a statement from one of the school commissioners, who act jointly with the clergy, because there are both clergy and laymen on the Catholic School Board of Montreal. Mr. Edward Murphy says:

"I send this statement to show the progressive increase in the school attendance. From 6,405 in 1877, it increased to 7,005 in 1881. From 7,316 in 1882, it increased to 9,332 in 1884. This is the attendance at the Commissioners' schools. There are of course a great many other schools independent of the Commissioners, but the report of the Commissioners shows an increase in school attendance from 6,405 in 1877, to 9,332 in 1884, or 55 per cent. in seven years."

Now, we have also had from my hon. friend the member for Rouville (Mr. Gigault) a complete answer to the charges that were made by the hon. mover of this resolution, and in support of my hon. friend I can supply figures, with reference to the City and District Savings bank, perhaps the best in-

stitution to judge by in this country, as the deposits there do not average more than \$200 each. At the time the National Policy was inaugurated, there were but \$3,000,000 deposited in that institution, by about 20,000 depositors. To-day, the deposits in that bank have swollen to \$8,000,000, by about 40,000 depositors. These facts and others to which I might point, the fact that when the National Policy was inaugurated we had 1,500 dwellings, shops and other buildings vacant in Montreal, and to-day we have scarcely one single house fit to live in or one tenement unoccupied—show that all the lamentations on the other side of the house are entirely unfounded and unnecessary. Leaving that branch of the subject, and proceeding as rapidly as I can to the general consideration of what is now before us, I cannot refrain from referring to one or two speeches that have been made here, and which I think

WERE CALCULATED TO DO GREAT HARM

in this community. It was sought by the hon. member for Kamouraska (Mr. Dessaint) a few days ago, and by the hon. member for Montmagny (Mr. Choquette) last night, to impress upon a large section of the people of this country, upon the whole French Canadian people, that there were members on this side of the house who were their enemies and who had launched forth against them on the floor of Parliament observations to the effect that the French Canadian people who have emigrated to the United States were hewers of wood and drawers of water. Mr. Speaker, I feel that every hon. member who heard the observation made by the hon. member for North Perth (Mr. Hesson) is aware of the fact that his interruption during the speech of the hon. introducer of this resolution, when he said that if we were to carry out the policy of unrestricted reciprocity was that not the French Canadian but the whole Canadian people would become hewers of wood and drawers of water to the people of the neighboring republic. But whilst we deprecate the introduction of such subjects into a discussion of this kind, whilst we deprecate appeals to race sentiment and especially race prejudice, it is fair, it is right perhaps that we should show, if there be any such thing as fanaticism in this matter, where that fanaticism lies, that we should point out to those interested in knowing, what is the object and design of the great apostles, and of the leading apostle perhaps, of this great movement now said to be foremost in the peoples' minds. I refer you, Mr. Speaker, and the

House to the statement made in the public press by Mr. Goldwin Smith, only a few months ago, when urging the people of Canada to adopt a policy of commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity. He said:

"It is said Quebec is against commercial union. If she is it is not on any commercial grounds. It is because the dominant and tithelevying priesthood of Quebec want to keep its domain in a state of isolation and shrink from any increase of intercourse with the religious equality and free opinion of the American Republic." (Hear, hear.)

That was the statement published and sent broadcast over the country, and yet we find hon. gentlemen opposite trying to fight an imaginary foe, while they have a real and genuine one right before them if they wish to attack him. Perhaps it may be said that this was a slip of the pen, that Mr. Goldwin Smith, the apostle of this new political gospel that is going to regenerate the Dominion of Canada, did not really hold such sentiments. Let me read to the house what he said on September 6th, 1887, only a few months ago:—

"While I have watched the action of the unifying forces which draw us toward our kinsmen in the United States, I have also watched the growth both in bulk and in intensity within our own political border of a French nationality as alien to us as anything can well be, which seems fatal to our hope of a really united Canada."

—(Hear, hear.)

That is the statement made by this apostle of commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity. There is an opponent whom hon. gentlemen opposite can fight if they feel disposed to fight with some one, and lest there should be any mistake as to the position of this wonderful statesman, who has come here to do so much for Canada, whose words and whose writings and publications have never once been repudiated by a single gentleman on the other side of the house, I shall read a further quotation to show exactly what his sentiments are respecting one and a half millions of the inhabitants of Canada. He said:—

"In truth our one chance of modifying the French element and arresting its growth into an alien nationality, appears to be to open it to the full influence of the English-speaking continent, which may be strong enough for the work of assimilation, while that of British Canada alone has proved to be too weak. The very reason which makes the ecclesiastics of Quebec recoil from commercial union with the Republic ought to make us the more ready to embrace it."

(Hear, hear and cheers.)

This statement was also published broadcast over the country; and yet we have hon. gen-

tllemen opposite rising and working themselves into a terrible rage in regard to an imaginary insult, but not one of them has a word to say in condemnation of the utterances of this great commercial unionist and unrestricted reciprocity advocate, nor have his words, as I have already said, ever been repudiated or condemned by a single leading man on the other side of politics. Having thus dealt with that episode of this debate, it now becomes my duty to examine as to

WHAT IS THE POSITION OCCUPIED

by hon. gentlemen opposite. In my opinion they must feel very much in the position of the pagan priests of old. If they never speak as they pass by they smile at the claptrap with which they are trying to bamboozle the people of Canada—(laughter)—they wink at one another over the various transformations through which their policy has passed in only one short year. It strikes me that the hon. gentleman who has charge of this resolution must have been studying the works of the late lamented Artemus Ward. We know that Artemus tells us in his book that among the greatest objects of interest he possessed was one wax figure which did very good service indeed. In the morning he exhibited it in the character of George Washington, in the afternoon it was made to do duty as Louis Napoleon, and in the evening it was exhibited to an admiring audience as Judas Iscariot. (Laughter and cheers.) We have had a similar process going on on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite. We have had hon. gentlemen exhibiting their policy to the people as quite a harmless little object, there was nothing connected with it that would for one moment disturb the great industries that had been inaugurated in Canada and that had grown up under the National Policy. That was proclaimed throughout the length and breadth of the Province of Ontario, and during the last election, lest there should be any mistake upon the minds of those who were engaged in manufactures, the then leader of the Opposition was brought all the way down to Montreal to make his profession of faith there, face to face with those engaged in the great manufacturing industries of the country. And that hon. gentleman went there lest there should be any mistake about it, lest there should be any misinterpretation, and he said in effect: "I am not going to have any mistake or misinterpretation, and I will just read you my Malvern speech over again." (Cheers.)

That was the first phase, and the next one, a little while after, is, that we find Mr. Goldwin Smith, we find Mr. Wiman, we find the hon. gentleman who moved this resolution, we find the hon. gentleman who sits beside him, and we find a whole host of gentlemen on the other side of the house in a new transformation scene with their policy of commercial union. (Cheers.) Commercial union was the only thing that could save the land they said, commercial union was their policy and they were going to stand or fall by it. In fact I heard the hon. gentleman who has proposed this unrestricted reciprocity resolution declare at Hastings in the county of East Northumberland, in the month of January last, that as a Privy Counsellor he was prepared to advise Her Majesty the Queen to sanction the introduction of commercial union as the policy of this country.

Sir Richard Cartwright—Mr. Speaker, I said no such thing.

Mr. Curran—That will not do.

Sir Richard Cartwright—It will do.

Mr. Curran—That will not do.

Sir Richard Cartwright—And I call upon the hon. member to withdraw the statement. The hon. gentleman wholly misunderstood and misinterpreted me if he says I said anything of the kind. I said nothing of the kind. What I stated in my address and what I said was the same as I said here the other night, that I would most undoubtedly advise Her Majesty, if she called on me for advice, to adopt the policy laid down in this resolution—in the words of this resolution.

Mr. Curran—There was no unrestricted reciprocity then. Nobody was talking of unrestricted reciprocity at that time.

Sir Richard Cartwright—Oh, oh.

Mr. Curran—Very good; I accept the hon. gentleman's statement, but I am going to make my own statement, too.

Sir John Macdonald—We accept your statement.

Mr. Curran—Why, sir, the *Toronto Globe* gave inspiration to my honorable friend the member for Queen's, P.E.I. (Mr. Davies), and on the strength of its article the hon. gentleman no doubt made his great speech before the Board of Trade of Charlottetown on the 14th September—the *Toronto Globe* had declared in the most emphatic language that nobody but a fool would

think of unrestricted reciprocity. (Cheers.) It could not be carried out. It would not be accepted by the Americans. And that article is there in black and white to refer to. The official organ of those gentlemen on the other side has declared that, and any one can see it who wishes to take the trouble to read it. That, then, was the position of affairs only a short time ago. But still later what was the condition of affairs? Surely gentlemen on the other side will not deny that which has taken place here in the presence of several members of Parliament only a few days ago. The hon. member for South Middlesex (Mr. Armstrong) put upon the table of Parliament a resolution to be proposed by him embodying

COMMERCIAL UNION AS THE POLICY

that ought to prevail for this country. But, gentlemen, was he not sat upon? Had he not to drop his commercial union resolution in order that gentlemen opposite might come before the country with the policy which only a few months ago was declared to be utterly unworthy of the consideration of sensible men? (Cheers.) Now we are told that there is a very marked difference—a very, very marked difference, indeed—between commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity. What that difference is in the results I should like somebody to show, because we have not had it pointed out yet. One thing is certain, that unrestricted reciprocity between Canada and the United States means, so far as those two countries are concerned, commercial union; that is, free trade between them. Nobody can deny this, but lest they should I shall again quote the gentleman for whom I have a great weakness, Mr. Goldwin Smith. Speaking on the 27th September last:—

"He made a speech," says the *Globe*, "of an hour's duration, in which he clearly showed the general advantages that would ensue to Canada by the adoption of commercial union, which practically meant unrestricted reciprocity or absolute free trade between Canada and the United States."

(Cheers.)

That is Mr. Goldwin Smith's definition, and the other day, in a letter written for the purpose of fortifying the hon. gentleman who has proposed this resolution, and written for the purpose of giving him nerve to go on and carry out his views, he said—on Saturday last only:—

"There seems to be a nervous disposition to drop the name 'Commercial Union'—"
Mind you, the hon. gentleman tells us he

never had that policy. Mr. Smith continues:—

"—and to adopt unrestricted reciprocity in its place. I should myself have preferred continental free trade, had we not been told that the phrase 'Free trade' would raise theoretic questions, which were not involved, and which it was our policy to avoid. Commercial union, as I understand it, differs from unrestricted reciprocity only in more clearly including mutual participation in the fisheries and coasting trade. It was adopted, I believe, in direct contradistinction to political union, and made for the special purpose of guarding against any such idea. However, the name has now become thoroughly current in England, in the United States and in Canada, and is imbedded in all the literature of the question. An attempt to change it will look like the hauling down of a flag, and would not propitiate opponents who are already crying out that unrestricted reciprocity, like commercial union, is annexation in disguise."

(Cheers.)

That is a statement of their own apostle. It is the statement of their own adviser, the man who does all the writing for them, and tries to get up the sentiment in the country. They may try to shuffle out of it as they like, but there they stand, convicted by their own best witness. (Hear, hear.) Now, up to the present time, we have had in this house a very strange discussion on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite. We have been told that they are now proposing to introduce an absolute economic revolution in the country, a revolution, which, it is admitted, is going to ruin a great many people, which, the hon. gentlemen opposite say, cannot be helped, because no great revolution of this kind can be carried out without hurting some one. We are to

RISK ALL THE INVESTED WEALTH IN MANUFACTURES

in this country, which have been fostered under the National Policy—wealth that was put there under the solemn promise of Parliament that the policy would be adhered to, we are to do away with all that for a prospective benefit; and what argument have we had on the other side to bring us to that frame of mind? We have had statistics, we have had gentlemen of great skill and ability taking a number of figures and tossing them about, endeavoring to make it appear from their standpoint that such and such results must flow from their speculations. But strange to say, sir, on a question of this kind which involves such mighty interests, we have not had one appeal to history. Not one parallel has been cited from the history of the past, at least not on the floor of this house, al-

though it was done in some parts of the country. Now, I think this is unprecedented. When any great movement of this kind was proposed in any deliberative assembly in the world, something has been done to show what have been the results of like movements in the past. Not to weary this house with examples, I shall merely draw your attention to the great speech delivered by the Hon. Mr. Gladstone, in 1886, when he introduced his Government of Ireland bill. On that occasion he went over the whole history of Europe. He took every country and showed how such a measure as his had been carried under such and such circumstances, going from Norway and Sweden down to Austria and Hungary, and showing by historical parallels what they might expect to realize from the measure he had laid before the house. We have had nothing of that kind here, Mr. Speaker; but throughout the country, when these gentlemen were talking commercial union, although they deny it now, there was a parallel sought to be drawn between the position of Canada and the United States, and the position of Scotland and England at the time of the Scottish union. Is there a gentleman in this House who has not read their speeches, and who does not remember this argument having been advanced, not only by Mr. Goldwin Smith, but also by the hon. gentleman who has proposed this resolution? (Cheers.) I do not think it necessary to detain the House very long in discussing a question which must be familiar to all; but I shall take this opportunity of showing that there is no parallel whatever between the two cases. Whatever hon. gentlemen opposite may say, Canada is not a beggarly country; Canada is not a country that is reduced in any way to great straits. The people of Canada to-day are in a fairly good condition at any rate. We have no mendicancy here to speak about; we have no people in the throes of despair. Every honest man who wishes to earn an honest day's pay by an honest day's labor can earn that honest day's pay. (Cheers.)

Sir Richard Cartwright—How do a million native born Canadians leave Canada, then?

Mr. Curran—I am going to tell the hon. gentleman in a few moments if he will allow me. I am going to point out to him that a million native Canadians would never have left Canada if Canada had had the good fortune to adopt the National Policy ten years before we did. (Cheers.) There are

three French-Canadians in the United States to every one of any other origin, and the great majority of those went there, taking their wives and families with them, to work in the factories, and they have remained there and form a very large portion of the industrial population of the United States. That is the reason those people have gone there, and if others have gone there, and if they have gone since the adoption of the National Policy, it has been because that policy has not enabled this country even to the present day, although it is making great strides, to recover from the soup kitchen policy of hon. gentlemen opposite. (Cheers.) But, to continue my argument. I am quoting from Lecky's history:

"The commercial clauses of the union laid the foundation of the material prosperity of Scotland, and they alone reconciled the most intelligent Scotchmen to the partial sacrifice of their nationality. The country was, indeed, reduced to a condition of chronic famine, and the emancipation of Scotch trade had become a cardinal object of every patriot. * * * The treaty of union, however, as it was finally carried, was drawn with great skill and with much consideration for the weaker nation. It provided that the land tax should be so arranged that when England contributed £48,000, or rather less than a fortieth part, that in consideration of the heavy English debt by which the taxation of the whole island would be increased, an equivalent of about £400,000 should be granted to Scotland."

which was equal to six years of the annual revenue of Scotland, both from excise and customs. Now, I contend that there is no parallel whatever between the case of Canada and the case of Scotland at the time of union; but I think I can establish

A PARALLEL WHICH CANNOT BE DENIED.

I think I shall be able to show that these hon. gentlemen who have been going about the country asserting that Canada is in the position of Scotland at the time of the union, and that this country would be benefitted to an enormous extent by the influx of American capital and by the opening of their market to us, are merely repeating here the arguments that were adduced by Castlereagh in the Irish Parliament in order to induce the people to give up their national autonomy, and become commercially as well as politically united with England, and enjoy the great benefits of unrestricted reciprocity. If anybody will take up Plowden's historical sketch of the Irish nation at the time of the union, he will find the *ipsissima verba* of those gentlemen falling from the lips of Castlereagh himself; and I think the spirit of that

unfortunate statesman, no doubt, in a very tropical region just now, must be plundering and plagiarising his ideas, and not giving him credit for them. (Great cheers and laughter). "The Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation," by Barrington, sets forth, in a very concise form, the arguments used at that time. He says:

"At present, it must suffice to state the abstract points on which the arguments of Government for annexation were founded, and those by which they were so ably and unanswerably refuted: first, the distracted state of the Irish nation; secondly, the great commercial advantages of the union, which must eventually enrich Ireland by an extension of its commerce, the influx of British capital, and the confidence of England in the stability of its institutions, when guaranteed by the union. Thirdly, the Government pressed with great zeal the example of Scotland, which had so improved, and became so rich and prosperous after its annexation; a precedent which must ensue from a similar incorporation.

(Cheers.) Those are the very advantages which are set forth by hon. gentlemen opposite, to be derived by us from unrestricted reciprocity. The enormous commercial advantages that would arise if we had access to the great markets on the other side, and the enormous amounts of capital that would flow into the country from the more wealthy people with whom we are asked to have that unrestricted reciprocity. What does Mr. Barrington say further:

"The second ground of argument used by the supporters of the union, great commercial advantages, appeared still more fallacious. Its deception was too palpable to deceive the most ignorant of the people."

(Cheers.)

In the same way, the argument used here in favor of unrestricted reciprocity, based on the same supposition, is too palpably deceptive to hoodwink even the most ignorant man in the Dominion of Canada. Mr. Barrington goes on to say:—

"The crafty prediction that English capital would flow into Ireland when a union was effected, was a visionary deception. The third and most deceptive argument of the supporters of the union, because the most plausible, was the precedent of which, at that period, flowed in full tide upon the public of Scotland, and the great advantages derived by her in consequence of her union. Of all the false reasons, misstated facts, fallacious promises and unfounded conclusions that any position ever was attempted to be supported on, the arguments founded on the Scottish precedent were the most erroneous, and no deception was ever more completely and fully detected than by the speeches made in the Irish Parliament in 1799 and 1800, and in several able pamphlets. First, as to the matter of fact, Scotland and Ireland in their relations with England stood on grounds diametrically opposite

to each other on every point that could warrant a union on the one side, or reject it on the other."

And the writer goes on to show that, in point of fact, Scotland never had representative institutions such as existed in Ireland and such as exist in Canada to-day. Therefore, there is no parallel whatsoever in that case. But we have, I say, in the first place, with regard to the comparison and the parallel I am about to draw, the contiguity of Ireland to England and that of Canada to the United States. We have, in the second place, a similarity as regards population. There were then something over 4,000,000 in Ireland, and we have 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 people in Canada to-day. In the third place, the Irish Parliament had adopted the protective tariff, just as we have adopted the protective tariff of the National Policy; and we have the other point, that the people of England desired

TO MAKE IRELAND A SLAUGHTER MARKET

for their goods, just as the people of the United States desire to make Canada a slaughter market to-day. I contend that we have more ground for a parallel. We have in the history that preceded the union of England and Ireland, exactly a parallel case in the conduct of England towards that country as compared with the conduct of the United States towards us. For years the people of Ireland were anxious to have free commercial relations with the people of England, just as for years the people of Canada were knocking at the doors of our neighbors and asking them for free commercial intercourse. That commercial intercourse was refused by England. Laws were passed by the British Parliament striking at the woollen industries of Ireland; and England refused to have commercial intercourse with Ireland until 1827, when by the aid of the volunteers and the political exigencies of the period, Ireland obtained her own legislative independence, and her industries began to prosper by the adoption of a national policy for the protection of her home industries. (Cheers). These industries were thus brought to the highest state of perfection. On the other hand, while the United States could not pass laws which would have operation in this country, they did pass legislation which was intended to affect us in a most detrimental manner. They abolished our first Reciprocity treaty, the Elgin treaty. Our hon. friends opposite sent the late Hon.

George Brown down to Washington to ask not merely reciprocity in natural products, but to a large extent in our manufactures as well; but the Americans refused to have anything to do with him. They later on refused to renew the Washington treaty, and last, but not least, as an evidence of the spirit that actuates them in their dealings with this country, they passed a law of non-intercourse, thus showing that a large section of that people were disposed, if possible, to crush Canada. Therefore I claim that the parallel is established on all those points so completely as to defy contradiction. (Cheers). Now, we have in Canada to-day certainly as large a number of manufactures and as varied a series of industries as any country could expect to have in the short time during which the National Policy has been in force. I would ask what was the effect in the past of the national policy upon the Irish people during the existence of the Grattan Parliament. I will take my quotations from the Loyal Repeal association's report, which Daniel O'Connell presented to the people of Ireland in these words:

"Fellow-countrymen, I dedicate these reports to you. They were written by one of yourselves for the benefit of all. They have met the approbation of the National Repeal association, and, therefore, I have no hesitation in recommending them to your perusal." Later on, he proceeds to state in a general way that which I shall endeavor to prove from the statistics I hold in my hand—that from the year 1782 until the treaty of the union, Ireland increased in prosperity, her commerce largely extended, her agriculture augmented, her manufactures improved and increased, her people daily became more prosperous and her gentry and nobility became enriched by the prosperity engendered on every side. What were the particular branches of trade and commerce that were specially benefited by this national policy in Ireland? I shall begin by making some quotations from section 1st, entitled the woollen manufactures. It treats of the early woollen manufactures of Ireland, and shows what I have already pointed out, that the jealousy of the neighboring country was aroused by the great progress Ireland was making, and it gives here an extract from the address of the lords, stating that the

GROWTH AND INCREASE OF WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES

In Ireland had been and would be ever looked upon with great jealousy. And they

asked that this may be the occasion of very strict laws "totally to prohibit and suppress the same." These laws having had their effect, the National parliament was called upon to re-establish those industries, and what did the national policy do for the people of Ireland? The report goes on to say:—

"After the glorious era of 1782, when, by an unparalleled effort of national energy, Ireland had shaken off the shackles from her trade and achieved her legislative independence, the rapid advances she made in commercial and manufacturing prosperity are undeniably recorded. In ten years after, there was found to be in the city of Dublin sixty master clothiers, having 400 looms engaged in the making of broadcloths, 100 in the making of cassimeres, and employing 5,000 persons on these fabrics. A stronger proof of the prosperity of these times and of the deep interest which England has or ought to have in Irish prosperity cannot be adduced than the fact that, although home manufacture was thus extensively promoted, the market of England had to be resorted to for supplying the demand arising from the better condition of the people. In 1782, the quantity of broadcloth imported into Ireland was 362,830 yards, and in 1790 the quantity of broadcloths imported was 653,899 yards. Meantime, the fostering guardianship of the Irish Parliament was constantly devoted to the encouragement and protection of the native manufactures. In 1785 they granted a sum of £5,000 to be expended in distributing looms, carding machines and other implements, and the establishment of woollen markets, and a further grant of £4,000 was made to pay apprentice fees with children to manufacturers. Other extensive grants were periodically made for the encouragement of cotton and silk manufactures."

And so on down to the end of the chapter. When we come to the particular places in which these industries sprung up, and where thousand upon thousands of people, under the national policy which was then inaugurated, found employment, and found plenty and prosperity for the country at large, we find that in Dublin:

"It is ascertained from authentic documents that in 1800 there were in Dublin 91 master manufacturers in the woollen trade, and these 91 master employers kept 1,122 looms busy in the making of broadcloths, druggets and cassimeres; and the total number of hands employed in all branches were 4,938."

What was the result, only a few years afterwards, of that unrestricted reciprocity between the two countries, with all the barriers removed? They had been forced, as we are now asked, to go into unrestricted reciprocity with the neighboring nation. There was a protective policy in England at that time, as there is one on the other side of the line now. They were solemnly assured that all the wealth of England was to be poured into their lap, and their manufactures increased, their tall chimneys raised

still higher to the skies, and to still greater prosperity throughout the land. What was the result?

"There are not more," he says, "than 250 woollen weavers employed in Dublin and its vicinity, and their average earnings for the last three years amount from 8s to 10s per week, making allowance for periods of idleness. At present—that is in 1840—there are not more than 12 master manufacturers, and the aggregate number of persons employed by them 682, in all branches."

Then the wool combing business employed a host of men in a separate manufacture altogether. The carpet manufacture was a most prosperous industry.

"At the period of the union there were in Dublin thirteen master manufacturers, having 109 looms, which gave employment between weavers, spinners, dyers, helpers, etc., to 720 individuals."

They go on to say that the result of this unrestricted reciprocity with England, this commercial union with England, had affected the trade so much that it could hardly be said to exist at all. That was many years ago, 1840, and to-day it does not exist at all. In regard to the stuff and serge manufacture, they say:—

"We find that at the period of the Union there were in Dublin twenty-five master manufacturers, having 1,120 looms, which gave employment to an equal number of weavers, and about 370 additional operatives, being 1,491 persons. At present there is but one master manufacturer of this article in Dublin."

That is, at the time these reports were printed. Then they say:

"Another branch of the woollen trade was the flannel manufacture, the principal seat of which lay in the county of Wicklow; and it flourished to such an extent as to induce the Earl of Fitzwilliam to erect, at a cost of £3,500, an extensive market place in the town of Rathdrum, which he called Flannel Hall, solely for the exhibition and sale of this article. There were twelve fairs held annually at Rathdrum, and the average number of pieces exhibited at each fair was from 1,000 to 10,000 pieces. This manufacture gave employment to at least 1,000 looms, and, allowing for preparatory processes, many thousand persons. In some years after the Union, the manufacture began rapidly to decline. It was ascertained that in 1823 there were only 400 looms at work, 300 in 1826, 200 in 1827, 150 in 1828, and 100 in 1830. In this latter year (1830) the Flannel Hall was closed, and in 1832 only thirty looms could be counted, and in two years afterwards there was not a vestige of this formerly important and remunerative branch of industry. The flannel manufacture also gave employment to a class called 'finishers.'

And they were wiped out as well as the rest. I may quote to you from Cork and its vicinity to show that there were forty-four employers in the year 1800, engaging 457

looms, and, allowing for operatives of various classes, the number of persons deriving wages was at least 2,500 in the city of Cork. "In 1883 there were only two master manufacturers left who were employing 256 persons. The trade is now completely gone. The extensive factory of Mr. Lyons is converted into a bleaching green," as the result of this commercial union.

Mr. Mills (Bothwell)—That is what Nova Scotia says.

Mr. Curran—We shall see what this book says as to unrestricted reciprocity, and we may hope that Canada will guard against the same thing. (Cheers.) To go on to Limerick it says:—

"About forty years ago there were in Limerick more than 1,000 woollen weavers, who were in constant employment, and in the enjoyment of comfort and independence. At present there are not seventy weavers in the city, and even these are scarcely able to provide a scanty subsistence."

In regard to Bandon it says:—

"This town was famed for its manufacture of camlets, cord and stuffs. The camlet trade was originally the staple of the town and neighborhood, and flourished about fifty years ago. The manufactured article was almost entirely exported to Lisbon, from whence the most remunerative returns were always made, producing over £100,000 a year. In 1835 a small mill for spinning woollen yarn, used in the manufacture of a fabric called Welbore, had been erected in Bandon, but the number of hands employed in it is inconsiderable, and the demand not sufficient to enable the proprietor to keep the concern regularly at work. The village of Enniskean, about seven miles west of Bandon, gave employment at one time to several combers; at present there is not one in the place. In fact the only branch of the woollen trade in existence in this district is that of freize for the country people."

The whole of the great industry, the finer work which gave employment to the skilled hands, had entirely disappeared at the time of these reports. In Kilkenny:

"At the period of the union, there were no less than 56 manufacturers, principally engaged in the manufacture of blankets, for which fabric Kilkenny gained an unrivalled character. These employed among them all 333 looms, and in the various processes of the woollen manufacture there could not have been less than 3,000 altogether employed. At present there are not more than 100 employed. In 1800 there were 40 of the looms engaged in making superfine blankets, then technically called 'twelve-quarter blankets.' But such was the effect of the union that in three years afterwards everyone was thrown idle, and has since remained so. According to the returns appended to the Revenue commissioners' report above referred to, there was in Kilkenny in 1822 twelve master manufacturers, employing among them 925 persons. The merino factory produced superfine cloths, which sold so high as from 25s. to 34s. per yard. The

value of cloths made at this factory has reached £40,000 in one year."

These were the industries which were to be more progressive and more prosperous under the political and commercial union with England.

"Carrick-on-Suir was famous from an early period for its ratteens and freizes, having largely experienced the bounty of Parliament up to 1796 or 1797, in nurturing these manufactures. Even the finer descriptions of cloth were made here with a success."

He goes on to give the same tale of woe with regard to that industry as to all the others. He says:

"However, immediately after the Union, advantage was taken of a want of a domestic legislature, and influence was put to work whereby the standing order for obliging the military on the Irish establishments to be clothed here, was not only evaded, but in a short time totally rescinded, and supply thrown open to the competition of overpowering British capital and machinery. Mr. Moore retired; his successor followed his example, and from 400 to 600 persons were by that step immediately thrown out of bread. Henceforth the manufactures of Carrick presented but a sickly and faded existence. The amount of capital then invested exceeded £50,000; at present there are but 100 persons partially employed, and the wool-combing business has already altogether disappeared."

In Roscrea, they were exactly in the same condition:

"About 1800 the manufactures became centered in the hands of a few master manufacturers, and one of them employed beyond 600 persons; about three or four hundred more may have been engaged by others. This trade continued to flourish till the period of the peace, and soon after 1815 began to decline."

And so it goes on. Mr. Crotty was examined before the Assistant Inquiry commissioners in 1834, and he gave the following testimony:

"Six years ago 1,000 persons, of whom 600 or 700 were females, were employed by me in Roscrea or its immediate neighborhood. The females spun the worsted, and the men combed and wove the wool; the latter earned 1s 8d a day at combing and about 1s 1d a day at weaving; the women could not make more than 1½d a day; but even this small sum being well applied, and for the most part to their own clothing, had a marked effect upon their appearance in general; all are completely destitute and the husbands are wandering about looking for work."

That has been the effect of unrestricted reciprocity with a great market and a rich country, in so far as the woollen industries are concerned. The cotton manufacture in Dublin was exactly in the same condition. We find that the same results have happened with regard to cotton industry in Ireland from the effects of unrestricted reciprocity. The condition of the cotton manufac-

tures in Dublin at the time of the union was as follows:—

"There were fifty-five master manufacturers engaged in the fabrics of cords, calicos, checks, shawls, fustians, muslins, dimities, etc., and several of them also combined the business of spinning.

"There were from forty to fifty minor manufacturers, keeping from five to ten looms going, as undertakers for the larger manufacturers. The total number of looms kept in work by the foregoing are computed upon the most accurate account to have been 8,000, and the number of operatives to whom they gave bread in the various processes was upwards of 14,000."

Now, these people were all wiped out. In calico printing the same result took place, and I want to point out particularly to hon. gentlemen here what the direct result of it was, and what the direct result would be here with regard to certain manufactures. What happened with regard to calico printing? The calico printing was an important industry. They tell us:

"This particular branch has been carried on to a great perfection, so much so that the Irish prints have often commanded a preference in the London market."

And yet he says:—

"It is a humiliating reflection that these very choice prints must be represented as London prints to secure a sale with the better classes, nay more. Within the last four or five years our printed calicos have been extensively exported to the American market, and put up in boxes and labelled in imitation French packages, and then sold as French goods."

That was

THE EFFECT OF UNRESTRICTED RECIPROCITY

with a great and prosperous country that was overflowing with capital; the effect was that the Irish people actually had to put false labels upon their goods; they could not label their goods as their own, and in order to get rid of the little remnants that were left, they had to sell them almost under false pretences. In Bandon the same thing took place in regard to cotton prints. There were 2,800 cotton weavers engaged in the manufacture of the various branches. In Belfast the cotton trade is entirely wiped out. In 1799:—

"There were 2,000 calico looms at Balbriggan at full work, making calicos for printing. There were also from 400 to 500 cord looms in that town and the adjoining parishes of Ardeath, Clonaboy and Garristown. There were several eminent manufacturers here. Now there are only 226 looms employed in Balbriggan, and the average earnings for each does not exceed six shillings per week."

That was the result at the time this book was published. They had been reduced

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down to that extremity, and now I am told they have disappeared. Let us see what took place in the silk manufacture, an industry that was carried to the highest perfection. The tale given here with regard to that industry is appalling, and ought to cause serious reflections to those hon. gentlemen who are advocating unrestricted reciprocity for Canada. By a report made at the time it appears that in 1775 the artisans of the various classes employed numbered 5,840.

"In some years afterwards the trade suffered a very considerable depression, which arose chiefly from the general use of muslins; but it was afterwards revived and the imports of raw silk nearly doubled. At the time of the union, after various fluctuations, we find its condition to have been as follows:

"There are 72 master manufacturers, engaged in various fabrics of broad silk, tabbinets, velvets, silk waistcoatings, handkerchiefs, crapes, persians, lining silks, modes, sarsonets, etc., and ribbons. The custom was to give out the materials to the weavers, who wove it in their own residences, the members of their family assisting in the preparatory operations. Besides the foregoing employers there were innumerable minor undertakers, then termed 'Chamber masters,' having from two to six or eight looms, and among the entire there could not have been less than 2,500 broad looms. In the ribbon line there were from 800 to 900 single hand looms, and 200 engine looms. In the ribbon branch there were at least 1,500 people employed; in the broad silk line, at least 5,000. In both not less than 6,500 persons were employed. The fourth report of the Irish Revenue commissioners states the number of looms in 1833 at 1,500, and the number employed from 3,000 to 4,000. In 1834, by an accurate account taken, the numbers were found to have fallen to 537. In 1838, by the report on hand loom weavers, they are stated at 400, viz.: 310 on broad silk, 280 on tabbinets and tabberas, 30 on velvets and 32 on ribbons. At the present day the whole number of broad looms in actual work is 250, viz.: about 170 on tabbinets, and the residue on velvet, waistcoating and serges, together with ten or a dozen ribbon looms. There were besides, within the year subsequent to the Union, seven proprietors who carried on the business of silk throwing, and who gave employment to 230 females, earning from 2s. to 7s. per week. Some years ago, large capital was expended in establishing silk throwing mills in the Liberty, with improved machinery. Within the last six years, they employed upwards of 200 females. The mills are now silent."

In the hosiery the same result took place, and we have now at the end of this report the remarks made by the great O'Connell by whom these reports were dedicated to his fellow countrymen. He says:—

"Political economists have been much puzzled to fix upon tangible reasons for the wide-spread miseries of Ireland. At one time they will have it that Ireland is not suited for manufactures and can prosper only as an agricultural country; at another, that her miseries

and failures are owing to her turbulent spirit, and the insecurity for life and property consequent thereon; at another, all mischiefs must be owing to excessive population. Then, again the religion of the people is arraigned as the sole cause of their poverty—with a thousand other equally wild and fallacious theories; while almost universal Ireland proclaims that all her woes and miseries are owing to the hateful union which took away her resident nobility and gentry, deprived her of the countenance and care of a domestic legislature, and subjected her to every species of impoverishment and neglect. One of the most fatal effects of that measure upon our trade and manufactures has been the premature withdrawal of the protecting duties; whereby Ireland, emaciated by the drain of her resources for four and twenty years, was suddenly left open to a fruitless competition against the overwhelming capital and influence of England."

That is the conclusion of this report which, I think, must have produced an affect upon the minds of every hon. gentleman here. But let us find

WHAT WAS THE EFFECT UPON THE PEOPLE?

How did the people fare when the bloated manufacturers were disposed of? The people had, no doubt, been told that the farming interests of the country were oppressed, that there was a lot of bloated manufacturers and monopolists living upon the vitals of the people in Ireland, and, if these were swept away the farmers would prosper, that great wealth would tumble into their lap, and that the agriculturists of Ireland, and all those who were not interested in those protected industries, would be benefited by the change. We have a report stating the result of this change of policy. In the report of the sick and indigent room-keepers for that year, we find the following appalling statements:

"The mass of human misery which fell under the province of this charity to relieve has been unparalleled. In the year 1826, 6,497 families, containing 24,262 persons, have been relieved; hundreds were on the eve of perishing from actual starvation, and the dreadful weight of fever and other malignant disorders, the consequence of the poverty and want which arose principally from a general stagnation of trade and want of employment in various branches of manufacture, particularly the woollen, cotton and silk, in that part of the city called the Liberty. It is impossible to describe the appalling state of privation in which these poor artificers were found by the inspectors.

"The committee were reluctantly obliged to lay aside innumerable cases of distress, which were entirely out of their power to relieve, and early in the spring vast numbers of the artificers in the branches of trade above alluded to, were seen in the streets in the deepest state of despondency. Their appearance exhibited evident proofs of poverty and starvation."

Another report says:

"Even the employers themselves felt the depression; and many were involved in the common ruin—they could hold out no longer. The Roomkeepers' Charity was at last obliged to be resorted to, and applications were numerous from persons who had heretofore been in very comfortable circumstances."

Another report says:

"There have been local causes of distress which operated to increase our numbers considerably, pressing with peculiar severity in 1825 and the immediately following years. About this time a very serious, and in its progress at least, a very distressing change was taking place in many important manufactures in the city. These manufactures had given employment to multitudes in Dublin, and although many families have emigrated to England to obtain work, yet they have left behind them multitudes, more particularly females, deprived of their usual mode of employment."

"It is not for this committee to follow these manufactures through the different gradations as they fluctuated, or as they declined; this committee has simply to put forward facts and it does so when it states that of forty-five establishments that had been engaged in the woollen manufacture (in 1821) all, with the exception of twelve houses, and their dependences of human labor, had ceased to exist; and that in the summer of 1829, of what little that remained of those who derived their maintenance from those manufactures—3,289 persons in the silk trade, 1,969 of the cotton trade and 1,193 of the woollen trade, making altogether 6,451 persons—were all out of employment, and in the extreme state of destitution."

We have it upon the authority of these reports that there were employed in those various manufactures at the time when the people were sought to be induced to change their fiscal policy along with their political status, not less than 150,000 people who were directly making their living and acquiring a competency out of the manufactures of the country. But, as I said a moment ago, the people of the country at large have been told that if for a protective tariff they adopted unrestricted reciprocity the people would have the wealth distributed among them, and the agricultural classes would benefit largely by the change. Now, what was the result in Ireland? I find it was described as follows:

"The number of agricultural laborers in Ireland is computed by the Poor Law Commissioners, at 1,170,000, and they assumed that one-half of these, being 585,000, are out of employment for thirty weeks in the year; and as these have 1,800,000 dependent on them, the two numbers make 3,385,000 persons to be provided for thirty weeks in the year."

I do not wish to read at greater length the reports upon this point; but we have in this volume evidence that must convince any man who has the slightest regard for the

teachings of history, and when we read this tale of woe it should be one of

WARNING TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA

when they are told that the only thing they have to do is to go into commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity with our great neighbor alongside of us. (Prolonged cheers). The industries of Ireland and everything connected with Irish prosperity was engulfed in the prosperity of the larger nation; and are we to be told after the experience of the past, after what we have seen in this country, when Canada was made a slaughter market for surplus stocks of manufactured goods on the other side of the line—are we to be told, does it require any one to tell the people what would again be the result if our markets were thrown open? Why, the result would be what it was formerly only in a more acute degree. It may be said that that misery which came upon the people of Ireland could never prevail in this Canada of ours. But such a statement cannot be made in my presence; I have seen what can result. (Cheers). I have seen in Montreal with my own eyes strong men and willing men, with good stout hearts, who were willing and desirous of earning their living, forced to go to the soup kitchen and there ask for that charity which they were obliged to accept to their humiliation. We have seen men who have been earning previous to the advent into power of hon. gentlemen opposite, as has been stated on public platforms by workmen in Montreal, over and over again, men earning \$2 and \$2.50 a day, and what was left open to them? To earn 60 cents or 70 cents a day, digging in public works around the canal basin, endeavoring to earn a miserable subsistence. Previous to the advent of the Opposition to power the working men of the country had been holding mass meetings to establish hours of labor and get larger pay. They claimed they should work only eight or nine hours a day, and yet afterwards when hon. gentlemen opposite had assumed the reins of power and the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) directed the fiscal policy of the country, these workmen were to be seen going about saying; "For God's sake give us work for any number of hours either day or night, in order to save our wives, children, and ourselves from starvation." That was the result. It is all very well for the hon. gentleman opposite to tell us that the question of unrestricted reciprocity has sunk down deep in the hearts of the people. But

I can tell the hon. gentleman opposite that so long as the mover of this resolution is in public life never again will the people accept from him the fiscal gospel that is to lead them to salvation. (Great cheers.) And now that we have heard from one hon. gentleman opposite and from another, what has been the burden of their song? Has it been one of hope, of aspiration? Why, no. It has been a wail, and that wail has been echoed and re-echoed from one mouth to another all along their line until finally the people of this country, listening to their wail, grown weary, have nicknamed them

THE BANSHEE PARTY OF CANADA.

We have been told, and told with a great deal of force, all that our country offers to us in the future. We have been told by the hon. gentlemen opposite, in the course of the most elaborate speeches, that great benefits would accrue to us from the union with our neighbors. They do not believe a word of it. We know that we have a great country. We know that the advantages of this country have not been by any means overdrawn by the beautiful pictures that have been presented to us by the various speakers during this debate. We know the hon. gentlemen opposite cannot take from the hearts of the Canadian people the hope within them that this country is going to be great and prosperous. We know that we have to-day as good a country to live in, as fair a country to live in, as any people on the face of the earth. We feel that to-day we are in the golden age. Whatever changes may come, whatever changes time may bring, there is

one thing perfectly certain: we can never be freer, never be happier, never be better off than we are to-day. (Great cheers.) It is needless to enter into any lengthy observations with respect to this country. We glory in its wealth, not only above the soil in its great forests, but on the soil in its magnificent returns to husbandry, and beneath the soil in mines and minerals. We have hope for our country, and we have great aspirations for its future. We do not mind the imaginary grievances of those who have pessimistic political views; our desire is to remain as long as we can as we are. The position we now occupy may be too beautiful to last, but at all events as long as we can make it last we shall make it last. (Hear, hear.) It is not our desire to destroy the good feeling which exists between us and the people on the other side of the line; but we feel we have a destiny of our own; we feel that when we shall have passed from our present condition it will be to take our place in the sisterhood of nations, an auxiliary power to the great Empire of which we now form part. (Cheers.) We feel that Canada is our home and that all our interests are centered here; we will not sell our birthright for a mess of pottage. (Great cheering.) No, gentlemen, we have a higher and a nobler prospect for this country and for ourselves. We and our children are

"Here Canadian in heart and home and name
This name which yet shall grow
Till all the nations know
Us for a patriot people.
Loyal to our native earth,
Our own Canadian land."

The hon. gentleman closed amidst prolonged cheering.